

Message Text

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SUBJECT: IL TEMPO ARTICLE ON USG ATTITUDE TOWARD ITALIAN
POLITICAL SITUATION

FOR BARBOUR/EUR/WE

FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED
IN JULY 14 ISSUE OF CENTER-RIGHT ROME DAILY IL TEMPO:
TITLE: FEARS IN AMERICA FOR THE ITALIAN CRISIS - BY MARINO DE
MEDICI, IL TEMPO, JULY 14.

SUBTITLE: ACCORDING TO THE THINKING IN AMERICAN CIRCLES,
THE SITUATION, FOLLOWING THE JUNE 15 VOTE, "CANNOT BE REVERSED
BUT CAN BE CONTAINED." A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE
ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IS RULED OUT.

TEXT: THE FIRST REQUIREMENT FELT BY AMERICAN LEADERS AFTER
THE ITALIAN REGIONAL ELECTIONS IS FOR THE U.S. TO REFRAIN
FROM AMBIGUITIES AND FROM BECOMING INVOLVED, AS THIS WOULD
HURT NOT ONLY U.S. INTERESTS BUT ALSO THOSE OF ITALY. THE
CONSEQUENCE IS A DILEMMA: EITHER SPEAK CLEARLY, WITH THE
UNAVOIDABLE CONSEQUENCES, OR MAINTAIN COMPLETE DETACH-MENT, WHICH
WOULD ALSO HAVE SOME UNFAVORABLE CONSEQUENCES.

THE POLICY OF A GREAT POWER LIKE THE U.S.--IN GREAT PART
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RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BIRTH AND THE ADOLESCENCE OF ITALIAN

DEMOCRACY--ABHORS A VOID. MORE SPECIFICALLY, NO AMERICAN LEADER LIKES IMMOBILITY. ITALIAN POLITICAL EVOLUTION, HOWEVER, HAS BECOME CAUSE FOR SO MUCH WORRY THAT SOME HAVE ALREADY ATTRIBUTED TO WASHINGTON THE INTENTION OF BREAKING THE IMMOBILITY, EITHER BY ACTING ON ITALIAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES, OR BY TAKING A MORE OR LESS DIRECT STAND. SOME EVEN HINT THAT WASHINGTON FEELS THE NEED TO BE MORE UP-TO-DATE AND TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE WITH THE COMMUNISTS, WHO ARE PRESUMABLY ON THE WAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT.

THERE IS NO DILEMMA IN SUBSTANCE, AS THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBTS ABOUT THE U.S. POSITION REGARDING THE PRESERVATION OF ITALIAN DEMOCRACY. THE U.S. HAS COOPERATED WITH ITALIAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES SINCE THE END OF THE WAR AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO, ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON'S LEADERS. FOR WASHINGTON, COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT, TODAY OR TOMORROW, IS INADMISSIBLE. AFTER THE PORTUGUESE EVENTS, A COMMUNIST PRESENCE IN THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT WILL DRASTICALLY ALTER THE NATURE OF THE ATLANTIC PACT. NATO IS NOW MUCH MORE THAN A MILITARY PACT: IT IS THE LARGEST ENSEMBLE OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS IN THE WORLD AND PROBLEMS CANNOT BE FACED INDIVIDUALLY BUT ONLY WITH COMMON POLICIES.

THIS IS, IN EFFECT, THE NEW U.S. POLICY, WHICH ALSO FOLLOWS FROM THE MODIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE WORLD. AMERICA IS NO LONGER THE LEADER OF THE WESTERN WORLD IN THE TRADITIONAL SENSE OF THE WORD, BUT RATHER THE COORDINATOR OF THE NATIONS WHICH WANT TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOM AGAINST AGGRESSIONS AND AUTHORITARIAN PRESSURES. THE U.S. TODAY HAS NEITHER THE OPPORTUNITY NOR THE MEANS TO CARRY OUT TOWARD A NATO COUNTRY AN ACTION COMPARABLE WITH THE EARLIER PREROGATIVES OF THE GREAT POWERS. NOR WOULD IT BE SUITABLE FOR AMERICA TO START A DIALOGUE WITH THE COMMUNISTS TO ASCERTAIN WHAT THEY MEAN WHEN THEY SAY THEY DO NOT WANT ITALY TO LEAVE NATO. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE USEFUL TO FIND OUT WHAT VALUE A NATO COULD HAVE THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS.

THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS DO NOT OFFER EXPLANATIONS ON THIS MATTER FOR OBVIOUS REASONS. AMONG WHICH THE BASIC CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMUNITY, WHICH WAS CREATED FOR A COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM, AND THE IDEOLOGICAL TIE THAT, DESPITE ANY INDEPENDENT STRATEGIES, FROM TOGLIATTI TO BERLINGUER, STILL BINDS ITALIAN COMMUNISTS TO MOSCOW.

WASHINGTON HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED THE RESULTS OF THE JUNE 15 VOTE AND HAS DRAWN ITS CONCLUSIONS WHICH ARE CONTAINED--IN A PRELIMINARY WAY--, IN A STATE DEPARTMENT

STUDY. IT IS A REALISTIC DOCUMENT, IN WHICH FIRST OF ALL IT IS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE RESULTS WOULD HAVE BEEN THE SAME IF THE ELECTIONS HAD BEEN POLITICAL. AT THE SAME TIME THE DOCUMENT RECOGNIZES THAT THE ITALIAN SITUATION IS SERIOUS, CONSIDERING THE ITALIAN POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD. IN GENERAL, THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEVER LOSES WHAT IT HAS ONCE GAINED AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY HAS ONLY PARTLY RECOVERED ITS LOST VOTES. THE COMMUNIST ADVANCE HAS BEEN CAUSE FOR DEEP WORRY BY AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING THE JUNE 15 ELECTIONS.

ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON, THE SITUATION CANNOT BE REVERSED, BUT IT CAN BE CONTAINED ON THE CONDITION, OF COURSE, THAT ITALIAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES KNOW HOW TO RENOVATE THEMSELVES, BASED ON A CORRECT ANALYSIS OF THE JUNE 15 RESULTS. IT IS NOT UP TO THE U.S. TO ACT UPON THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS: IF THE LATTER ARE NOT ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE MEANING OF RECENT EVENTS, NO AMERICAN INITIATIVE CAN MAINTAIN ITALY IN THE DEMOCRATIC FIELD.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD BE DECEITFUL TO TRY TO MAKE WASHINGTON APPEAR INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COMMUNISTS, AS THOUGH IT HAD DECIDED NOT TO BET ANY MORE ON LOSING HORSES. DETENTE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ITALIAN ELECTORAL CHANGE. BUT NEITHER SHOULD WE THINK THAT A DIALOGUE BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD NOT BE BENEFICIAL TO THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS AND ACCORDINGLY HARMFUL TO ITALIAN DEMOCRACY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN--IT IS WORTH REPEATING--THAT THE AMERICANS ARE BLIND TO ITALIAN POLITICAL REALITY. IT IS NO SECRET THAT FOR SOME TIME AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE HAD CONTACTS WITH ITALIAN COMMUNISTS AT THE WORKING LEVEL. AMERICA, IN CONCLUSION, WANTS THE ITALIANS TO BE AWARE NOT ONLY OF ITS INTERESTS BUT ALSO OF ITS LIMITATIONS. AMBIGUITIES AND UNCLASSIFIED

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INVOLVEMENTS DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THESE INTERESTS. U.S. ATTACHMENT TO ITALIAN DEMOCRACY IS BEYOND DOUBT, AS IS THE FACT THAT A COMMUNIST REGIME IN ITALY IS UNACCEPTABLE. BUT THOSE WHO HOPE FOR THE IMPOSSIBLE SHOULD CONSIDER THAT WE ITALIANS ARE AMERICA.
END TEXT.VOLPE

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